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in charge of editing.

ORGANISATION OF AN INTERNATIONAL NEGRO TRADE UNION COMMITTEE BY

THE R.I.L.U.

Heretofore in raising the question of Negro workers, their organisation and connection with broad groups of toiling workers, the question has usually centered around isolated localities — U.S.A., etc., — with very little if any attention given to a broader aspect — a world outlook. Even the advent of the I.C.N. in South Africa which finally flopped to Amsterdam did not bring the question of the oppressed toiling Negroes of the world any closer to a real international affiliation and outlook. And how could affiliation of the most exploited Negro toilers be benefitted by any attachment whatever with the Amsterdam International which adheres to a policy of collaboration with the capitalists' exploitation of colonial and oppressed Negro toilers? The constant clamour of Negroes in America for the admittance of Negro workers into the ranks of international unions affiliated to the AF of L has meant even less, insofar as the deaf ears of the AF of L bureaucracy are concerned. What else is to be expected from the AF of L officialdom? So far as the Negro workers are concerned, the AF of L officialdom bluffs, hoodwinks, betrays and isolates the broad masses of Negro workers from the ranks of the unions. Witness the recent betrayal of 12,000 Negro workers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters by William Green and Company.

Imperialist Exploitation

But now, as a result of the constant and ever-increasing oppression and exploitation, by the imperialists and the international bourgeoisie, of the Negro toilers of the whole world — in South Africa, the Gold Coast, West and East Africa, the Congo, the West Indies, Central and South America, and finally in the USA, a young but virile labour movement which although not yet homogeneous, nevertheless is orienting towards common unity and international trade union outlook.

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World Unity of Negro Labour

The unity of white and black unions in South Africa, along with strikes against their common enemy — British imperialism is pointing the way. Strike waves in the West Indies (the longshoremen's strike in Trinidad, the capture of 5 of the 6 labour seats in the colonial legislature by the workers and peasants of Trinidad); the recent strike move of Negro workers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in America against one of the strongest and worst labour-hating capitalist organisations in America ; the unity of white and black miners of America at the April 1st Conference which took place at Pittsburg under the leadership of the left wing ; and at the recent conference for the organisation of a new miners' union (September 9, a Negro miner was elected vice-president of the new union). All this shows the unity on the one hand, of the Negro workers, and on the other hand, there is a growing consciousness on the part of the Negro workers towards their own common interests for unity on a world scale against their common imperialist oppressors.°)

It must be clearly understood that the movements of other toilers against the imperialist oppressors was initiated, developed, and organised by the workers themselves. The only thing that is respected, the only thing that CAN BRING LIBERATION IS ORGANISED FORCE AND POWER. UNTIL WE HAVE ORGANISED POWER AND FORCE WE SHALL REMAIN STEP-CHILDREN IN THE PROLETARIAN FAMILY. The only thing in the final analysis that will break down the white chauvinist doors of the reformist trade unions (AF of L, etc.) is ORGANISED FORCE.

RILU Organises International Negro TU Committee

The RILU is the organising centre for Negro workers on the international field, and through its sections, on local fields. It is the historic task of the RILU to lead the world proletariat against its

°) See article in this issue : "The Development of a Labour Movement among Negro Colonials — and the USA."

common enemy. The RILU includes in its ranks workers of all races. It takes steps to combat all forms of reformism and all white chauvinism. The historic work of the Fourth World Congress of the RILU in regards to Negro workers has been pointed out before in these columns. Recently at a meeting of the Executive Bureau of the RILU which was participated in by Negro workers and representatives from all parts of the world, the following historic resolution was discussed and unanimously passed :

"Whereas, despite the decisions adopted by RILU Congress and the insistent directions of the Executive Bureau, the organisation of Negro workers is being effected at an extremely slow pace ;

"Whereas, the RILU affiliated organisations, and in the first place, the Trade Union Educational League, have not yet commenced the formation of independent Negro unions ;

"Whereas, further hesitation and delay in this matter puts millions of the most oppressed slaves of capitalism outside the field of action of the RILU ;

"Whereas, Negro workers, thanks to their economic, political, and racial oppression, comprise a huge potentially revolutionary power in the struggle against capitalism ; and

"Whereas, the Negro workers of the United States, Africa, the West Indies Islands, will achieve equality with the white workers only by means of the organised relentless struggle against the whole system of capitalist oppression, the Executive Bureau resolves :

"I. - To set up at the RILU an International Trade Union Committee of Negro workers, composed of two representatives from the Negro workers of the United States, and one representative each from South Africa Guadeloupe, Martinique and Cuba. In the future to draw into the Trade Union Committee representatives from the Negro workers of Haiti, East Africa, Portuguese Africa, the Belgian Congo, Liberia, French Equatorial Africa, and those countries of Latin America where there are considerable numbers of Negro workers (Brazil, Colombia,

Venezuela, etc.).

"2. - To charge the Trade Union Committee with the work of drawing Negro workers into the trade unions, the creation of new joint unions of White and Negro workers, and the creation of independent Negro unions where the white unions do not permit Negro members, and especially, the work of setting up connections with the Negro workers of the whole world and the unification of the wide masses of Negro workers on the basis of the class struggle.

"3. - To charge the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers to publish a special bulletin and to prepare and convene an International Conference of Negro Workers at the end of 1929."

A Negro worker, delegate to the IVth Congress of the R.I.L.U. from the T.U.I.L., U.S.A., member of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. was Chairman of this Bureau.

Tasks of Negro Workers

In the organisation of this Bureau the RILU has performed a task of world significance and importance. Never before in the history of the struggles of Negro toilers for emancipation, in the history of the trade union movement has such a far-reaching step been taken. The toiling Negro workers are no more the step-children in the proletarian family. In this unity the world proletariat has finally been unified. However, this raises some very important tasks for the Negro workers.

What are the tasks of the Negro workers ? The Negro workers on a large and world scale must affiliate through their trade unions with this International organisation. Between the betrayal of the reformists and the bureaucrats of the reformist trade unions ; the onslaught of the ruling class and finally the reformist and vacillating petty-bourgeois intellectual Negro leadership, the Negro workers must begin the organisation of their own organisations under workers' leadership. General suggestions for organisational steps :

I. - Special trade union Committees should be set up. These

committees should draw within its ranks the most conscious workers. It must establish itself among the workers.

2. - Local shop and factory committees should be set up in all industries. These local committees should cooperate with the national (special) committees and form the basis for the establishing of regular unions.

3. - Considering that the work of organising Negro workers is largely the question of organising the unorganised, great stress should be placed on the organisation of new unions, soliciting at all times, however, the assistance of existing unions in the industry where unions exist.

4. - The drawing in of sympathetic elements of white workers must not be overlooked. The first step towards breaking down race prejudice in unions and the building up of strong unified unions is thus started. Sympathetic elements also should be recruited from among Negro social (workers') clubs, fraternal organisations, etc., etc.

5. - District conferences should be organised in given (geographical) districts, following these national (general) conferences should be organised.

6. - These special committees should be a part of the RILU adherents where such exist (America, TUEL, etc.), and where none exist these committees themselves should become the direct organisation of the RILU.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES

by L. Heller.

The three and a half years which have passed between the Third and the Fourth Congresses of the RILU have been replete with tremendous changes in the political life and the labour movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The scramble among the imperialists for colonial markets and for supply bases of raw materials (petroleum, rubber, cotton, coloured

materials, etc.) and the rivalry for such things, have become tremendously increased and intensified during this period.

The causes : (a) the impoverishment of a whole number of European countries and the diminished importance of Europe as a selling market ; (b) the exclusion of the USSR from the chain of the "free" capitalistic exchange ; (c) the growth of the forces of production in the United States of America and (to a less degree) in Japan, which makes it necessary for these countries to export an ever increasing share of their **output to foreign markets** ; (d) the regeneration of national economy in Germany, and its increased importance in the world markets ; (e) the industrialisation of the colonies.

A factor tending in the same direction is the growing importance of : (a) petroleum, as the fuel for all kinds of transport, of particular importance to the air fleet, which is destined to play a foremost part in future warfare ; (b) rubber, as the essential material for the rapidly growing automobile industry ; (c) coloured metals, for which increasing demands are made by the modern industries (automobiles, aviation, engineering, chemistry). The struggle for these essential resources of raw materials, in which the colonial countries are so rich, as well as for their markets, constitutes one of the mainsprings of international politics, and of the heightened interest of the imperialists in the continents of Asia and Africa, which means the increased pressure of imperialism upon the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Fascism and Reformism in China

The fear of social revolution is bringing together the imperialists and native capitalists in an united front against the fighting proletariat. All the efforts of this united front are directed against the organisation of the fighting working class. They are endeavouring either to destroy or to corrupt them, or to replace them by their own "company" unions. Hence the methods of combatting the labour movement: repression, fascism, reformism.

Repression, of course, is not a new form of the fight against

the working class ; but it has never assumed such brutal forms of mass terrorism as it has assumed already in China, Indonesia, Korea, Egypt, and Turkey. New weapons in the fight against the revolutionary labour movement in the East are fascism (China) and reformism (India, the Philippines).

Fascism in the labour movement of the East, prior to the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in China, was a rather isolated phenomenon, and has been applied (Japan) chiefly for the dispersing of workers' meetings, for attacks upon labour leaders, for the murder of individual revolutionaries, being directly associated with the police machinery of the bourgeoisie in the general apparatus of repression of the labour movement.

Now fascism (China) is being vested with tremendous importance as, one should say, the basic system of measures calculated to capture the labour movement. This system does not wish to be merely repressive, it also wishes to be "constructive." It "reorganises" the trade union movement, which it reconstructs according to the aims and plans of the bourgeois reaction, signing collective agreements in its own interests, and even resorting to strikes when such cannot be prevented or crushed.

Having begun with barefaced terrorism, Fascism (China) is endeavouring to consolidate its position ; (a) among a very narrow group of the highly-skilled and best-paid workers (mechanics, locomotive drivers, foremen) ; (b) among the semi-tramp elements of the working class which are still strongly associated with the semi-feudal organisations of "blues" and "reds" ; (c) among the most backward and brow-beaten elements of the petty merchants and artisans which at present find in the fascist trade unions the only legal form of existence.

Repression in India and Indonesia

Reformism constitutes a serious menace in India, where it manifests itself in two varieties. The bourgeois-national elements, which

are still influential in the labour movement, are endeavouring to endow reformism with a national-liberal character and to make it subservient to their interests. The British Labour Party and the General Council of the British trade unions are carrying on a very active agitation within the labour movement of India, endeavouring to imbue it with a trade unionist character, to get it into the closest possible touch with European reformism as represented by Amsterdam, and to render it harmless from the standpoint of the interests of British imperialism.

Of late there have appeared the first sprouts of reformism in Indonesia (the social Democratic Union of Railwaymen). The brutal terror raging in Indonesia since the crushing of the insurrection in Java and Sumatra at the close of 1926, the imprisonment and exile, and the wholesale discharges of Communists and active trade unionists have created exceptionally favourable circumstances for the activity of the Dutch social-democracy which not only enjoys perfect legality, but also certain protection on the part of the Dutch authorities in Indonesia. Nevertheless the Social-Democratic conquests in Indonesia, with the almost total absence of a big native bourgeoisie, the chances of reformism in Indonesia are flimsy. Nevertheless the very appearance of reformism as a "third" force in the struggle which has been hitherto waged between Dutch Imperialism and the native masses of Indonesia, should be registered and duly taken into consideration.

Exploitation of Africa --- Role of Labour Movement

In surveying the new stage in the labour movement of the colonial countries, mention ought to be made of the growing importance of the African continent as an object of capitalist exploitation. Along with the old zones of imperialism in North, Central and South Africa (Egypt, Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, Transvaal, Cape Colony, Rhodesia, Congo), the foreign capitalists are becoming more and more "interested" in equatorial Africa as an object of exploitation. The cry of "valorisation of the African colonies" is gaining popularity not only in im-

perialist circles in France and Belgium, but is also attracting ever-greater attention in England, who is just now vigorously "valorising" Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda (East Africa), the Golden Coast, the Ivory Coast, Negeria (West Africa), and even in the Unites States which are developing broad plans of "peaceful" acquisition of definite territories in Africa (Liberia — rubber, Abyssinia and Sudan — cotton). At the same time in these countries, which used to be widely served by slave labour, there are now appearing "free" labourers, and the beginnings of a labour movement (strikes in Sierra Leone, Congo, Mozambique).

In this connection the question of coloured labour is acquiring ever greater importance. Particularly important becomes the Negro question, in which not only the United States are interested, but the whole of the African continent directly, and the international labour movement indirectly.

The basic tasks confronting the labour movement in the colonial countries remain unaltered : (a) the struggle against imperialism, and (b) the struggle for the purely class interests. Without overthrowing the domination of imperialism, which endeavours to extract the utmost profits from the colonies, the working class in the colonies and semi-colonies cannot attain any real amelioration in the conditions of labour.

Yet, while taking part in the movement for national liberation, the workers should occupy upon the anti-imperialist front the most advanced and perfectly independent positions, exposing the hypocrisy and the reactionary taint of the big bourgeoisie, the compromising proclivities of the middle bourgeoisie, and the oscillation and fickleness of the petty bourgeoisie. The proletariat in the colonies should endeavour to get into its own hands the leadership of the peasant masses and the agrarian revolution without which the emancipation of the colonies and semi-colonies is altogether unthinkable.

The particular attention of the trade union movement of the colonies should be directed to the organisation of the teeming millions

of agricultural labourers and proletarian artisans which are steadily quitting the old patriarchal craft traditions, so as to draw them into the proletarian struggle.

The struggle for the eight-hour day, for the right to strike, for the absolute freedom of the trade unions, for factory legislation (all kinds of insurance, including state insurance of the unemployed), for the protection of the labour of women and children, for raising the level of the real wages, against any racial barriers in the trade union movement, against the division of trade unions by national, racial, or religious distinctions (equal pay for equal work), against the fascist reaction, against all forms of class collaboration, against compulsory state arbitration, against the International Labour Office of the League of Nations — these are the basic slogans which, put together, comprise the programme of action around which should be gathered and organised, for the revolutionary struggle for national emancipation and the class interests, the proletariat of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The adherents of the RILU in the imperialist countries (in the first place, the Minority Movement in England, the UGCL in France, the Trade Union Educational League in the USA) should exert all efforts to render aid and assistance to the trade union movements in the colonies, maintaining live connections and supplying literature, educators and organisers, helping them by means of the press, public meetings, parliament, etc., combatting the imperialistic and racial prejudices of the working class in the dominant countries, and organising campaigns, demonstrations and sympathy strikes, whenever necessary.

The defence of the Chinese revolution, and every assistance to the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, are of particular importance in this connection.

For purposes of practical activity it is essential to work out, in conformity with the above outlined general programme, a more concrete and detailed programme of action for the ensuing period, for each country in particular.

PROBLEMS OF NEGRO WORKERS IN THE COLONIES --- U. S. A.

Tasks of the R.I.L.U.

By Padmore (USA).

The RILU, through its recently established International Negro Trade Union Bureau in Moscow, intends rallying together and organising the Negro workers of the world along class lines so that they too might be able to effectively play their historic role in the world revolutionary movement.

Colonial Conditions

The Negroes in Africa and the West Indies and South American colonies are the victims of the most ruthless forms of imperialist oppression by the great capitalist powers --- Great Britain, France, the United States, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal.

The entire African continent is divided among, and dominated by, these European and American robber-States who are viciously exploiting the natural resources and labour power of millions of blacks.

Africa has been completely raped and its peoples reduced to wage slavery.

Liberia and Abyssinia, the two remaining African nominally sovereign States, are under the financial control of the bankers. In the former republic, Harvey Firestone, the powerful American rubber manufacturer with the co-operation of the American State Department, and Herbert Hoover, Republican Presidential candidate, has secured a monopoly on the rubber production of the country and its finances.

In Abyssinia, the "J.T. White Corporation" an American engineering and construction firm, has negotiated and secured the contract for building extension water-works on the Blue Nile, which will greatly affect the British cotton industry in the Sudan. Again Abyssinia is menaced by the recent Anglo-Italian Treaty which practically means the partition of the country between Mussolini and Chamberlain.

In other sections of the continent --- Portuguese, French, Bri-

tish, Belgian and South African --- the most intensive process of industrialisation is taking place.

Millions of natives are being turned into landless proletariat and driven to work for foreign capitalists under the most horrifying conditions in the mines, plantations and railroads.

The same process is taking place in the West Indies and the South and Central American colonies (the Guianas, British, French and Dutch, and British Honduras). The agricultural and mining resources in these colonies are entirely controlled by foreign capitalists, chiefly British and American.

Exploitation of British Guiana

For example : the colony of British Guiana although slightly larger than Great Britain has a small population which resides largely along the Atlantic coast line. In pre-war days sugar and rum were the chief products of the colony, but to-day foreign capital is penetrating the country and tapping the hitherto untouched natural resources of the hinterland. The bauxite industry which was first exploited by a Canadian company, is now entirely in the hands of American capitalists. Diamond, gold, timber, especially balata wook, are some of the industries into which millions are being poured.

Efforts are now being made to attract cheap labour from the West Indian islands so as to enable the imperialists to pursue their programme of exploitation of the colony. The native Negro and East India population have already shown signs of resistance, and are organising into workers' and farmers' unions. The British Guiana Workingmen's Association is a militant proletarian movement among the Negroes of the colony.

With respect to the West Indies, the agricultural industry has been hard hit since the war, by the development of the beet-root industry in Europe. Thousands of once independent farmers and sugar planters are reduced to the rank of wage labourers.

Factories, especially in connection with the asphalt and oil industries, have sprung up in the large islands and this has created a proletariat.

The labour movement is growing at a tremendous pace. The peasantry together with the workers are showing signs of militancy both against the foreign and native bourgeoisie. This unrest shows itself in the number of spontaneous strikes which occur in the various islands from time to time. The greatest need among these people is proper leadership to crystallise and direct their efforts.

The longshoremen's strike of Trinidad in 1924 was one of the most open expressions of the potential fighting qualities of the natives. During one of the busy shipping seasons of that year, the longshoremen went out on strike against a threatened wage cut by the shipping companies (Royal Mail Steam Packet Co.; Harrison Line, Lomport and Holt ; Royal Netherlands, etc., etc.). The men did not only refuse to handle freight, but organised into armed corps and marched through Port of Spain, the capital, and closed down all the shipping firms until a settlement was arrived at. The military commander of troops (Colonel May) not confident as to the reaction of his garrison, refrained from provoking an armed uprising by calling out his men. The town was under the control of the workers for day, who permitted all other business, except shipping, to be conducted until the bosses complied with their demands.

After the strike was over the leaders were arrested, some were imprisoned and others deported. The capitalists, through their organised agencies, Chamber of Commerce, Business Men's Club, and government officials, launched a campaign against the Workingmen's Association but failed to drive it underground.

These were memorable days in that outpost of the British Slave Empire, but it registered a victory for a young working class.

It is the historic task of the RILU to penetrate these colonies and give guidance to this youthful but healthy colonial movement.

It is the duty of these colonial peoples to rally to the stand-

ard of the RILU in their militant struggle for freedom and emancipation from imperialist oppression.

Negroes in America

In the U.S. 98% of the Negroes are workers and poor farmers. They suffer the worst forms of oppression as workers, and as racial minority group. Their greatest enemies are the American capitalist-imperialists, and next the political misleaders within their race.

These Negro lackeys and office-seekers are paid by the ruling class to befuddle the masses and to corrupt and crush militant fighters wherever and whenever they dare to challenge the powers that be.

The Negro workers will have to organise along industrial lines and when this is done, to ally themselves with those white workers who realise that "labour in a white skin cannot emancipate itself as long as labour in a dark skin is enslaved." That section of white workers who to-day realise this is the militant left wing (TUEL) of the American labour movement. The corrupt and Negro-baiting bureaucracy of the AF of L hates and despises the Negro masses. Men like Green, Woll and John L. Lewis have never attempted to organise the unorganised, most of whom are Negro workers. They leave this large section of workers to fish for themselves, and thereby enable the capitalists to use these unfortunate men as strikebreakers and scabs in time of crises. Negro workers and their leaders must protest against this vicious practice of discrimination. They must stand back of the "NEGRO WORKER" and the RILU which is prepared to fight for their full social, political, and economic equality.

Where they fail to gain admission into the trade unions, they must organise themselves, and through their organised strength break through the barriers of discrimination and show the enemies of organised labour that they are prepared to fight for the same economic opportunities as the white workers. This task is no easy one, but already Negroes have demonstrated their militancy and revolutionary spirit and

a willingness to take an active part in the class struggle. During the miners' struggle thousands of Negro miners fought side by side with their white brothers. Several of them served on leading and responsible committees whilst others were actively engaged in organising the unorganised miners.

The salvation of the Negro race in America, like all other minority groups in capitalist society, rests in the final analysis with the class conscious Workers. They alone can supply the mass power which is necessary for militant struggle. The Negro intellectuals can play their part only provided they are prepared to adopt militant tactics and revolutionary action. The reformists have tried for the last sixty years to ameliorate conditions, but in the year 1928 Negroes are still lynched, Jim-Crowed, and segregated, ostracised, disfranchised and exploited in a thousand different ways.

These twelve million black men and women must organise, agitate and fight for their rights as citizens and men !

The RILU champions and fights for the complete emancipation and freedom of the oppressed and exploited the world over !

Negro workers of the world ! Organise your labour power and join hands with the class-conscious white workers of the world and oppressed colonial peoples, Chinese, Indians, Indonesians, etc., for the overthrow of capitalism, imperialism, and the liberation of the working class.

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THE MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION
Slave Traffic in 1928.
By T. W. Ford.

A Treaty, known as the Mozambique Convention, between Portugal and the Union of South Africa had been in existence since 1909. Recently new negotiations have been opened up between the two governments concerning the further recruitment of native labour in Portuguese East Africa. The essential feature of this convention and also the new agreements amount to the traffic in slaves by Portugal and the enslavement of native

labour (confinement in compounds) by the mineowners of the South African Union.

In the exploitation of the Rand mining district of South Africa, one of the main problems faced by the mineowners has been the difficulty of securing a sufficient native labour supply. On the one hand recruitment of native labour in the territory of the Union was hindered by the requirements of the white farmers and the industries of the towns of the Union, who require and use this labour. On the other hand recruitment from the tropics (South of 22° Latitude) was not successful as the effect in the change of climate upon the natives caused prevalent contraction of pneumonia which resulted in a very high mortality rate among the natives imported. In Portuguese East Africa which is nearby there is a plentiful supply of native labour ; there the mineowners turned for labour.

The essential points of the Mozambique Convention were : (1) The Rand mineowners were allowed to recruit native labour in Portuguese East Africa on a contract basis for 21 months ; (2) in return Delagoan Bay, a Portuguese port nearest to Witwatersrand, was allowed 50 to 55% of all import traffic into the Witwatersrand district.

However, since the world war there has been much friction between the two governments over the Convention. In 1923 there was a bad harvest in South Africa which threw a large number of native workers on the farms out of work. In order to utilise these natives in the Transvaal district the Union restricted the recruitment of natives from Portuguese East Africa to 75,000 per year. During the war a large export traffic in coal developed, but since the Delagoa Bay port did not have sufficient facilities for handling this traffic, the Union Government in 1924 denounced this Convention.

In the meantime sugar and cotton planting in the Mozambique region and the installation of adequate port facilities at Delagoa Bay created a demand for labour in this region. In 1927 the Portuguese legislature passed laws prohibiting recruitment of labour by the South

African Union altogether, to take effect in May 1928.

This was a blow to the Union, and another Convention was concluded on the following general terms : (a) as before, the Delagoa Bay Port is to receive 50 to 55 per cent. of the import traffic in all "competitive areas" ; (b) machinery is to be set up to meet the needs of the railroads ; (c) native labour recruitment to continue. However, the number of natives actually working in the Rand district is to be reduced to 80,000 in 5 years ; (d) The maximum period of service is reduced to 18 months ; and natives are not to be re-engaged before 6 months ; and (e) one half of the wages of the labourers is to be retained by the mine owners and paid to them at the end of their contract period as they return home.

The convention actually legalises human bondage and slavery of the Negroes of East Africa and the only effective means the natives have for combatting this evil is to struggle for the organisation into trade unions of the 100,000 or more workers who are already occupied in the mining area. It is necessary to demand the abolition of compounds (prisons or slave quarters) ; the establishment of suitable dwellings, adequate health protection, and higher wages. The native and white unions of South Africa should secure contact with these enslaved workers. Protests should be made against the Mozambique Treaty and a movement set on foot for its abolition. Especially should this be done in South Africa where the workers maintain a certain degree of organisation.

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INDUSTRIALISATION PROCESSES OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

2. Distribution in Industry.

By J.F.

Large numbers of Negroes through migration having become a fixed part of the population in large urban and industrial centers of America have been in the meantime introduced into industry as an industrial proletariat. The significance of the Negro of America as an Industrial Prole-

tariat can be determined by studying this trend : (a) by the gradual tendency of his entering in industrial occupations, since the civil wars, (with some reference to the period preceeding the Civil War ; (b) by his sudden (during the decade 1913-23) introduction in large numbers into big and basic industries ; (c) by his total numerical strength in industrial occupations ; and (d) by his participation and activity in the struggles of the workers --- strikes, trade union organisations, etc.

Negro Artisans Before and After the Civil War

First, according to Charles Wesley, "Negro Labour in USA", prior to the Civil War, there were many Negroes engaged in the following mechanical and industrial occupations : carpentry, blacksmiths, machinists, and mechanics of all kind. Du Bois also writing on, "Negro Artisans before the Civil War", shows that a large number of Negro slaves as well as Free men were engaged in such occupations as listed above. After the Civil War we also find a gradual and substantial increase in the number of Negroes engaged in industrial pursuits. The following table will show this development.

Table No. I.

Industrial Occupations of Negroes --- 1890-1920.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>
Trade & Transportation	145,717	208,789	334,422	452,888
Mfg. & Mechanical	207,588	275,086	552,581	886,810
Textile	-	2,949	11,333	24,734
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TOTAL :	353,305	486,824	898,336	1,363,432
INCREASE :	---	133,519	411,512	466,096

This table shows an average increase for each decade of 337,042 Negroes who entered industry over the period 1890-1920. This tendency must be taken into account in arriving at any conclusions concerning the industrialisation of the Negro in America especially as to his immediate contact with labour and his understanding of labour struggles, ALSO AS TO HIS LONG AND STEADY CONTACT WITH WORKERS' PROBLEMS, WHICH HAS BEEN A STEP-PING STONE TO HIS PRESENT POSITION AND NUMERICAL STRENGTH ON THE INDUSTRIAL

LABOUR FIELD.

This becomes clearer when we view the present numerical strength and status of the Negro industrial proletariat.

According to the census report of 1920 Negroes were distributed in the following gainful occupations : Extraction of minerals^o 73,229 ; manufacturing and mechanical ^{oo} - 886,810, transportation^{ooo} - 317,421 ; trade - 140,467^b public service - 50,552 ; domestic service - 1,064,590 ; clerical - 37,011 ; other services (nurses, teachers, etc.).

Some Figures for Specific Industries

From the same source a comparison can be made between Negro, native white, and foreign-born in specific industries. The following list of the major industries must suffice for this article. A more complete list is given in the "Negro Industrial Proletariat" :

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Native White</u>	<u>Foreign-born</u>
Textile	24,374	626,406	291,567
Food	43,522	204,221	98,005
Iron, Steel	129,257	756,711	532,194
Metal	5,230	92,946	60,676
Lumber	115,874	286,688	82,787
Paper, Pulp	6,610	146,061	45,931
Leather	5,124	191,461	18,487
Clay and Glass	82,304	132,104	55,395
Tobacco	41,183	98,092	41,010
Chemical	19,739	65,278	39,379
Clothing	15,295	227,308	179,256
Transportation	312,421	2,195,579	547,613
Other Industries ^{oooo}	109,041	637,964	338,585

^o) Coal, copper, gold, silver, lead, zinc, oil, salt, gas.

^{oo}) Chemical, tobacco, clay and glass, clothing, food, iron and steel, other metal industries, timber, textile, paper and printing, shoe and tanneries, machinists.

^{ooo}) Water, roads and streets, railroads, express and R.R. labourers.

^{oooo}) Broom and brush, button factories, electric light, gas works, refineries, rubber, paper-boxes.

Some of the important industrial centers in which Negroes are employed are : mining, Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Pennsylvania and Ohio ; the industries of Cleveland, Pittsburg, steel ; St. Louis, iron, repair shops ; Chicago general ; Birmingham, iron and steel.

In the south there are large numbers of Negroes employed in : fertilizer, vegetable oils, textile, tobacco, iron and steel, furniture and timber, and maintenance (railroad).

NEGRO WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

In 1910 - 2,013,981 or 54.7% of the 3,680,536 Negro women ten years of age and over, and 6,043,709 or 19.6% of the 30,769,641 white women 10 years and over, were gainfully employed.

In 1920, the percentage of Negro women gainfully employed and in industrial pursuits had decreased to 38.9% ; this decrease is affected by seasonal nature of work and the date of census (January 1920). Of 150 plants visited since the war it was found that there were 11,812 Negro women workers employed.

The wages for these women was much less than for men doing the same work and also less than for the white women who were doing the same kind of work.

Later figures show that in St. Louis, according to an Urban League report, work is more prevalent for Negro women than Negro men. In Chicago, Negro women are working in almost as many diversified industries as men ; in the stock-yards there are large number, in the International Harvester Company plants are large numbers. 40% of the lamp shade work is done by Negro women in Chicago. Negro women work in the garment industry in large numbers.

On the whole Negro women play an important role in industry of the North ; relatively to their numbers they compare very high with Negro men.

NEED FOR TRADE UNION ORGANISATION

The organisation of coloured workers into trade unions, and the unification of coloured and white workers on the industrial field along with an "organised and unorganised" program is a great task before the labour movement at the present time. According to the above figures the Negro worker has become a FACTOR in the industrial field ; he has become a deciding factor in workers' struggles. Not only are racial antagonisms exploited to keep him as a possible factor in breaking any attempt on the part of the general labour movement to better the general conditions of workers ; but traditions in politics ; the boss taking advantage of the apathy of trade union leaders who say that coloured workers cannot be organised, is incapable of unionism, etc.; Negro leaders of opportunist leanings who may be businessmen, politicians or what not, are exploited to keep up the misunderstanding ; leaders who have no training in trade unionism or who do not come directly out of the shop, who are sincere, but who racially mistrust the organised labour movement, are also utilised by the bosses to mobilise the coloured workers against white workers.

ATTITUDE OF THE BUREAUCRATS

The bureaucrats Green, Lewis, Woll, Fitzpatrick, of the labour movement give very little, if any, serious attention to the question of Negro workers and the labour movement, Negro workers and white workers --- their general condition and points of contact --- in general, the real and vital problems between coloured and white workers ; or make any effort to analyse and solve these problems.

A survey shows the following types of unions according to their relationship to coloured workers :

(1) International Unions (eleven) exclude Negroes by constitution of rituals --- railway, boilermakers, machinists, commercial telegraphers ;

(2) Unions that have no constitutional barriers, but which do not include Negroes --- electricians with membership 142,000, there is

no Negro union but there are 1,343 Negroes in the trade ; plasterers 30,000 membership, less than 100 Negroes in union, 6,000 Negroes in trade; plumbers 35,000 members, no Negroes in union, 3,600 Negroes in trade ;

(3) Admit Negroes but do not encourage membership --- carpenters 340,000, 592 Negroes in Union, 35,000 in trade.

(4) Admit Negroes in separate unions --- musicians, Hotel & Restaurant, Barbers, Textile workers, cooks and waiters, teachers ;

(5) Mixed and separate unions --- Longshoremen, hod-carriers, labourers, tunnel workers.

(6) Admit Negroes only in their mixed unions (no separate unions --- United Mineworkers, Garment unions ;

(7) Negro unions organised against crafts that do not admit them, and

(8) Unions where few or no Negroes work in the industry --- Pullman conductors, RR Engineers, pattern workers, operative pottery, leather workers.

NEGRO WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS

However, along with their gradual, constant and sudden growth in industrialisation, Negro workers have also formed contact and participated in the trade union movement of America with white workers, as well as in their own union, where affiliation with white unions has been difficult.

In 1869 the Knights of Labour was organised. In this early organisation, Negro workers were encouraged to join so that by 1885 we find Negro workers enthusiastically joining the unions in Virginia and many other places.

At New Orleans in 1883 the central labour assembly was making efforts to organise Negro workers. In 1886 there were 14 unions of Negro carpenters affiliated with the International Carpenters' Union in the South.

At the outset of the organisation, of the AF of L., in 1881 declarations were made that Negro workers must not be excluded from

membership in affiliated bodies.

A strike wave passed over America in the decade 1880-1890. Negro workers and foreign-born workers were utilised to fill the place of the striking native white workers. Racial feeling ran high. However, we find organisations of mixed workers withdrawing from banquets and hotels because some of their coloured members were barred by hotel and theatre owners.

Later sprang up separate unions of hod carriers and longshoremen and others. In 1900 separatism was encouraged by President Gompers.

In 1869 at the convention of the National Labour Union at Philadelphia, there were 142 delegates, nine of whom were Negroes. It was the first time that Negroes had been delegates to a national convention of organised labour. In 1870 at Cincinnati, there were 4 Negro delegates. After this convention the National Labour Union began to decline.

The International Workingmen's Association began to rise in 1871. A parade of this group was held in September of the same year in which Negro unions appeared. Already Negro workers were in the German Marxian organisations. In 1870 a Negro delegate from the United States was present at the World's Labour Congress at Paris, France.

In 1869, the first National Convention of Negro Unions was held at Washington, D.C. with 130 delegates present representing every state in the Union. In July of the same year a small group of Negroes representing several trades met at Baltimore, Maryland, to effect a state organisation. In Baltimore, in 1867, an emancipation parade was held. In this parade many Negro trades organisations were represented.

STRIKES --- STEEL STRIKE 1919

The question of coloured workers and the steel strike is one of the factors that was uppermost in the strike, and as a result profound study should be given this question. Pretty much the same conditions obtained in the steel strike, relating to the coloured workers, as in the stockyards strike 1918, misunderstanding, confusion, mistrust, suspicion, and what not.

During the period of the strike the Negro workers constituted from 1% to 20% of the whole working force. They worked mostly at rough, hard and unskilled labour.

In some places they organised 100%, Cleveland, Ohio, and Wheeling, West Virginia, and "struck very creditably". In the homestead Steel Workd (Pennsylvania) where Negroes constituted about 12% or 14% of the workers only eight joined the union.

In the Pittsburgh district, of the several thousand coloured workers only about 12 went out with the 25,000 white workers. Similar tendencies were shown in Chicago, Youngstown, Buffalo, Pueblo, and other districts.

DATE AND FIG WORKERS — CHICAGO

In 1926 a group of Negro women, date and fig workers, were cut a few cents per pound in wages which lowered their earning capacity to around \$9.00 per week, which had previously been about \$12 or 14 per week. They immediately struck, without the semblance of an organisation, just spontaneously struck, and were floundering around until picked up by the American Negro Labour Congress which gave them what meagre leadership that was at their disposal. These women were successfully organised and admitted into the organised labour movement.

Thus through the evidence of the above figures and facts it is shown that a large section of the Negro population of America has become an influential factor in the industrial life of America. By all standards this large section of Negroes is an important section of the industrial proletariat of America. But because of the constant betrayal of the official bureaucracy and aristocracy of the labour movement, the reformists, etc., etc., he must take leadership in the labour movement alongside the most conscious and left-wing elements of the labour movement. He should ally himself with the T.U.E.L. the official section of the Red International of Labour Unions in America.

COLOURED LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA
Part II.
By Balabushevitch.

The wages of the black workers are considerably lower than those of the whites. According to official data, the average wages of a white worker are approximately £246 per annum, whilst the black worker earns not more than £48. The day wages of a native workers are 3 shillings on the average, whilst the white worker earns 15 shillings. A coloured worker in Johannesburg receives from £3 to £3.10/- a month. As a rule the monthly budget of such a worker (with 5 people in the family) is divided as follows : food and clothing --- £1.13/4 ; house rent --- £1.5.0.; education for the children 2/-; taxes 1/8; and travelling fares --- 8/-.

It should also be remembered that frequently the wages are paid either entirely or partly in kind ; in corn (for agricultural workers), wine (on the vineyards), and so on.

Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered that the exceptionally cheap and docile native labour has rapidly gained prevalence as an unskilled labour force in the factories, having ousted even the so-called "white paupers" (impoverished and proletarianised white farmers). After all is said and done, native labour now represents a serious menace not only to the "white pauper", but also to skilled white labour. The high profits and dividends of the South African industries (chiefly mining) are based to a considerable degree upon the cheapness of the "black" native labour. Naturally, the industrials and manufacturers have tried to make the utmost use of the cheap coloured labour in preference to the more expensive white labour. The menace of being gradually ousted and thrown out of work has been constantly before the eyes of the skilled white workers. However, the tip-top aristocracy of labour has succeeded in getting the policy of segregation of the natives and coloured workers to be carried on from the domain of agriculture into the domain of industry. A series of laws was issued for the protection of the predominant position of the whites in regard to skilled and semi-skilled labour.

You might mention, for instance, the famous "Color Bar Bill" which restricts the rights of the natives to occupy more or less skilled and responsible positions in industry. Nevertheless this policy, in the long run, has been detrimental not only to the interests of the natives, but also to those of the white workers. The white worker at the present time may not do any unskilled work, as he cannot exist upon the miserable pittance of the unskilled worker. On the other hand, the demand for skilled labour power is steadily diminishing in connection with industrial rationalisation and the introduction of up-to-date machinery. Thus, the majority of the white workers are doomed to chronic unemployment. Thus, the interests of the white workers themselves are beginning to urge the raising of the wages of unskilled labourers, so that white unskilled workers might be employed the same as the coloured workers.

An attitude of hostility and contempt towards the natives is to be observed not only among the bourgeois elements of the population in South Africa, but also among considerable groups of the white workers (both the unemployed "paupers" and the skilled workers), who feel a menace to their living standard from the cheap labour power of the natives. The bourgeoisie and its satellites, the reformists, are naturally doing everything to fan the racial hatred between the two sections of labour, driving advantages from the splitting of the forces of the working class.

The race prejudices, which still persist among the majority of the white workers, are finding their reflection in the South African labour movement.

In South Africa there is no united trade union movement. It is divided into two sharply distinguished branches: the trade unions of the white workers which bar admission to the natives and coloured workers, and the independent organisations of the native and coloured workers.

Altogether there are in South Africa 565,000 industrial workers (including 420,000 native and coloured workers and 145,000 whites), and 490,000 agricultural workers (including about 435,000 coloured and native workers and about 50,000 Europeans).

According to available data, out of the 145,000 white industrial workers about 83,000 are organised in the trade unions, or 37%, whilst of the 435,000 native and coloured workers about 100,000 are organised, or 23%.

The native and coloured workers, being stubbornly denied admission into the white unions, began to organise their independent unions only in 1918. A tremendous revolutionising effect upon the native workers in South Africa, as upon the workers in other colonial countries, was exercised by the world war and by the October Revolution.

In 1919 in Cape Town the first organisation of the native and coloured workers was formed — the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.) which began rapidly to grow. Being formed with only 24 members, it had 2,000 members in 1920, from 20, to 30,000 in 1926, about 80,000 towards the close of 1927, whilst at the present time it has about 100,000 members. The ICU is the only organisation of native and coloured workers of any considerable size upon the territory of South Africa. The organisational structure of the ICU is not distinguished by clarity. It includes in its ranks the most diverse categories of labour. There is no division into industrial sections; the internal cohesion is rather weak, and this leaves room for high-handed bureaucratic action. During the first years of its activity the ICU was a revolutionary organisation standing upon the platform of the class struggle and taking up a left wing position as compared to the South African Trade Union Council of the white workers. Until 1927 there were a few Communists upon the Council of the ICU, occupying leading positions. Nevertheless in point of numbers the reformist elements prevailed upon the National Council of the ICU, and the Communists had to carry on a stubborn struggle against them, which was brought to a head at the close of 1926. At that time the reformist leaders of the Union, with the National Secretary Clements Kadalie — who formerly considered himself as "left" — at their head, started a bitter campaign against the Communists who were urging a class struggle policy, eventually banishing the Commun-

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ists from responsible positions.

After disposing of the revolutionary elements in the Union, Clements Kadalie and Co. exerted all efforts to transform the ICU from a class struggle proletarian organisation into a tool of class collaboration. Kadalie, and the rest of the reformist clique, refused to send representatives to the Brussels Conference of Oppressed Peoples on the pretext that it was a "bolshevist outfit". Kadalie protested his loyalty to the English King, opposing strikes as a method of fighting the employers, and urging peaceful ways for the settlement of conflicts. This did not end the treacherous activity of Kadalie. He got the ICU to join the Amsterdam International and invited reformist trade union officials from England to come as his advisers, whilst upon every possible occasion he declares that his Union and himself have nothing whatever to do with Communism.

It stands to reason that the severe economic and political conditions of the black workers represented by the ICU do not furnish favourable ground for the blossoms of reformism. The policy of class harmony cannot find any response amongst the masses which are eking out an existence of semi-starvation. Therefore, the reactionary policy of Kadalie & Co. does not indicate any process of decline in the sentiments of the native and coloured workers, having no solid basis of support.

Parallel to the ICU of the native and coloured workers, there are two trade union organisations of the white workers : the South African Trade Union Congress (15-20,000 members) and the Federation of Labour Unions of Cape Province (11,000 members).

The trade unions of the white workers, which had persistently refused to have any dealings with the organisations of the native workers, are now compelled to alter somewhat their policies. Now they cannot afford to ignore the existing organisation of the native workers which is many times stronger than their own. The South African Trade Union Congress, which had repeatedly declined all proposals and advances made by the ICU, at its session in April 1927 "condescended" for the first

time in the history of the South African trade union movement to discuss the question of collaboration with the ICU, and even to send back a telegram of greetings. It is true, the framing of practical measures for the establishment of collaboration with the ICU was postponed until the establishment of contact between the South African Trade Union Congress and the Federation of Labour Unions of Cap^e Province. Finally, such contact was established, in order to coordinate and harmonise the activities of both organisations of the white workers there was formed in 1927 the "United Trade Union Committee". Nevertheless there was little gained by this to the unity of the trade union movement. At one of its meetings, or rather, as the result of several meetings, the United Committee passed a resolution in which it recommended the South African Trade Union Congress NOT TO AMALGAMATE WITH THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS' UNION, BUT TO CONVENE FROM TIME TO TIME JOINT MEETINGS OF THE TWO BODIES. The last session of the South African Trade Union Congress, which met in April, 1928, accepted the recommendation of the United Trade Union Committee.

Thus, the question of unity of the South African trade union movement, which is of such momentous importance to the successful struggle of the working class in South Africa, has been shelved once again. To be sure, there is nothing surprising or unexpected in this. It is easy to understand that the Trade Union Congress of the white workers, with its lingering racial prejudices and with its membership of barely 20,000, has hesitated to take in a force of 100,000 native and coloured workers, extending to the latter the same rights as to the white members. Furthermore, it should be remembered that at the head of the trade unions of the white workers, with few exceptions, are reformist leaders who have deliberately obstructed the tactics of the united front and have betrayed the interests of the workers upon numerous occasions.

A particularly stubborn struggle against unity of the trade union movement is waged by the South African Labour Party, which has been consistently following an outspoken imperialist and anti-native policy.

Not only does the Labour Party refuse admission to native and coloured workers, but it also urges that they shall be debarred from the white trade unions.

Under such involved conditions the only organisation in South Africa which advocates consistently the militant class struggle policy is the young Communist Party. In spite of all the difficulties and obstacles, the Party carried on an energetic campaign against national and class prejudices, against the treacherous tactics of the reformists, for unity of the trade unions, and for One Trade Union International. It is true, the activity of the Communists in the labour movement of South Africa is considerably handicapped by the high-handed action of the reformists. Nevertheless the Party, by persistent propaganda and agitation for the native rights in the trade unions and for the amalgamation of the white and coloured trade unions, is gradually winning over the best elements of the working class. If so far the efforts to establish collaboration between the white and coloured trade unions have not been crowned with success owing to a number of reasons (the lingering prejudices of the white workers, the high-handed action of the reformists, etc.), it may be expected that the laws of capitalist development and the revolutionising factors will bring to the natural result in the end. Already now we are witnessing the increasing offensive of the capitalists against the white workers, and the rapid growth of the large cadres of "white paupers". The gulf between the white workers and the bourgeoisie is widened day by day, whilst the growing precariousness of the economic conditions of the white workers is beginning to consolidate the whole of the working class into an united front, irrespective of race and colour.

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BRIEF NEWS

Johannesburg, South Africa,
August 30, 1928.

MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION AGREEMENT

It is stated that the delegates who are negotiating the Mozambique Convention have agreed to fix the contract of mine labourers at

eighteen months.

It is also believed that an agreement has been reached in the matter of deferred payment.

NEW MINERS' UNION ORGANISED IN AMERICA ; NEGRO, VICE PRESIDENT

Pittsburg, Sept. 10, 1928.

At the organisation of the new Miners' Union by the left wing of U.S.A., as a result of the betrayal, and defunct leadership of the Lewis gang of the old miners' union, a new militant programme was adopted ; John Watt was elected President, and Frank Boyce, a Negro miner, was elected Vice-President.

SOCIALISTS FORM COTTON COMPANY FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF NATIVES
IN AFRICA.

Brussels, Aug. 30, 1928.

Under the management of Jules Mathieur, a socialist member of Parliament in Belgium, the socialists have founded a cotton company, in Ruanda-Urundi and the Congo in Africa. The socialists have now entered into competition with imperialists for the exploitation of the resources and native labour of Africa.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA NOMINATES NEGROES ON PARTY TICKET
IN MANY STATES

New York, Sept. 1, 1928.

The Communist Party of America has succeeded in placing its ticket on the ballots for the coming elections in 20 States, many in the South, where Negroes are showing great interest in the Party platform, which comes out strong against abusive practices against Negroes in America. In nearly every State where the party has a ticket Negroes are nominate on the ticket.

The following demands are included in the party platform :

- I. - Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination. Full racial, political and social equality for the Negro race.
2. - Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Ne-

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